The COMMONWEAL

VOLUME XXXVII *November 27, 1942* NUMBER 6

THE WEEK		131
LECTURE NOTES	*Didymus*	133
CHINA: CAPTIVE OR FREE?	*Harry Paxton Howard*	136
JUSTICE FOR THE CITIZEN	*Wendell Berge*	140
VIEWS AND REVIEWS	*Michael Williams*	142
COMMUNICATIONS		143
THE STAGE	*David Burnham*	144
THE SCREEN	*Philip T. Hartung*	144
BOOKS OF THE WEEK		146
Pageant of the Popes—As the Twig Is Bent—Japanese Prints of the Primitive Period—Grant of Appomattox—Lee's Lieutenants		
THE INNER FORUM		149

THE COMMONWEAL *is indexed in the Reader's Guide, Catholic Periodical Index* and *Catholic Bookman.*
Commonweal Publishing Co., Inc., 386 Fourth Avenue, New York
Annual Subscription: U. S. and Canada, $5.00; Foreign, $6.00

Editors: EDWARD SKILLIN, JR.
PHILIP BURNHAM *(now on duty with the armed forces)*

HARRY LORIN BINSSE, *Managing Editor;* MICHAEL WILLIAMS, *Special Editor;* C. G. PAULDING, *Literary Editor;* JOHN BRUBAKER, *Advertising Manager.*

The Bishops' Statement on the War

A DEEPLY religious sense and a spirit of general good-will characterize the statement of the administrative board of the National Catholic Welfare Conference just issued on behalf of the American hierarchy on the occasion of the annual meeting in Washington. War is presented as a last resort, throughout, a just and lasting peace the objective of our nation in arms. Peace principles of Benedict XV and Pius XII are cited. The conclusion is an exhortation to priests and people to offer up the Holy Sacrifice for the intention of peace and to invoke Our Lady, the patron of the Church in the United States, "that she will intercede with her Divine Son for mercy on a war-blighted world."

The bishops and archbishops see in the present conflict, however, a conflict between those who would enslave the world, violating man's divinely conferred dignity, human freedom and religious liberty, and those who would maintain a world embodying human freedom. Between such opposing forces no compromise is possible. In this case the war is a positive national duty. The people should gladly make every sacrifice in such a cause. Here the bishops introduce a special plea to the government for genuine moral safeguards for the 18-year-old boys called to the service and the young women employed in our war industries.

Possibly the key phrase of the message is that "every man is our brother in Christ." From this principle would seem to flow the reminder that the President had promised the bishops shortly after Pearl Harbor that not vengeance but the establishment of an international order motivated by a Christian spirit was our national war aim. So, too, the section devoted to reaffirming that every man has a natural right to whatever is necessary to maintain human life and that business and government have the responsibility of assuring this.

Also special concern is expressed over the terrible sufferings of the population of Poland, specifically, and of the Jews. The efforts of the French hierarchy to protect the Jews are warmly commended. The deepest sympathy goes out to fellow bishops who are suffering persecution in various parts of the world as well as to war victims of all creeds everywhere. The bishops call to mind those who are languishing and dying in prisons and concentration camps or struggling to subsist under conditions of direst want. And the message is not oblivious of the crying injustices in our own country. One of the most moving passages deals with Negroes in the United States. "They should enjoy the full measure of economic opportunities and advantages which will enable them to realize their hope and ambition to join with us in preserving and expanding in changed and changing social conditions our national heritage. We fully appreciate their many native gifts and aptitudes which, ennobled and enriched by a true Christian life, will make them a powerful influence in the establishment of a Christian social order."

What About These Freedoms?

THERE is, perhaps, no major figure cast up by the New Deal upon the shores of time more generally attractive than Vice President Wallace. It is therefore almost painful for us to have to take serious issue with some of his recent statements. Would it be unduly facetious to add that the pain is intensified by the fact that we in consequence find ourselves on the same side of the fence as Westbrook Pegler?

Mr. Wallace made a speech before a mass meeting organized by the Congress of American Soviet Friendship. In this speech he paid high tribute to Russian courage and pointed out some interesting things about the future of our own country and that of the largest single territorial unit in the world—the USSR. In the course of his remarks he took occasion to say: "Some in the United States believe that we have over-emphasized what might be called political or Bill-of-Rights democracy. Carried to its extreme form, it leads to rugged individualism, exploitation, impractical emphasis on states' rights, and even to anarchy. Russia, perceiving some of the abuses of excessive political democracy, has placed strong emphasis on economic democracy. This, carried to an extreme, demands that all power be centered in one man and his bureaucratic helpers. Somewhere there is a practical balance between economic and political

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

democracy. Russia and the United States both have been working toward this practical middle ground."

At a casual reading, these words might seem to make some sense, and that is why we feel it is particularly necessary to call attention to them and to submit them to a certain amount of analysis. It is perfectly true that the historic ideal and achievement of American democracy has been in the direction of what is loosely called "civil" liberty. It is equally true that the Russian ideal—however little achieved—has been in the direction of economic democracy. What is false is that there is any antithesis between "political" and "economic" democracy.

The fly in our ointment has not been so much that the civil liberties—freedom of worship, assembly, press, speech—*produce* or even *encourage* the things which Mr. Wallace blames upon them, but rather that the postulates of the "liberal" school of economics lead to a situation which largely invalidates all liberty. Ironically enough, these postulates—absolute ownership of property, the necessity for unfettered competition, particularly in the labor market, the sanctity of the "law" of supply and demand—require a certain amount of freedom of a political sort for their practical application—a freedom which they then proceed to suffocate. But that same freedom is far from incompatible with an economic system where these postulates no longer apply.

The fly in the Russian ointment is that you really cannot have economic democracy without full political democracy. It is not, as Mr. Wallace would have it, that a strong emphasis on economic democracy tends in the direction of centering power on one man and his bureaucracy. This result, itself invalidating the economic "democracy" to which it pretends, arises precisely from the denial of the civil liberties which we cherish.

What is bad about the sort of thinking Mr. Wallace displays is that it encourages those who wish to qualify our Bill of Rights and gives them an excuse in "justice" for what they would like to do. There is always terrible pressure directed against freedom by people who feel that their own interests will be safer if the populace enjoys a minimum of personal liberty; this pressure is in war time made vastly more effective because, mixed into conscious or unconscious motives of self-interest, there is the additional motive of patriotism.

The individual liberties guaranteed by the Bill of Rights, like all liberties on the practical level, cannot be absolute. But the entire theory of our political philosophy with regard to them is that *legally* they are absolute, and can only be qualified by specific legal enactments. Historically this has proved to be the only way of curtailing the tyranny of the powerful and of the State. It therefore seems almost criminal to suggest that we should weaken this tradition and structure in order to achieve a good which is not incompatible with that structure's remaining whole and entire.

We should like to suggest to Mr. Wallace—and to many other well-intentioned men who are thinking thoughts very like his thoughts—that the proper goal to aim for is a democracy in which all of the civil liberties continue to subsist and are reinforced by widespread economic democracy, which, in turn, cannot flourish if these same civil liberties are weakened. The tendency in this country has been toward the tyranny of the rich and then of the State, with a consequent emasculation of the provisions of the Bill of Rights; the condition in Russia has been a mockery of economic democracy because the terms of that democracy are settled by a one-party tyranny, subject to only the *technical* criticism of the ordinary citizen. We do not want to fall from the frying-pan into the fire, but rather to improve and make viable our own ideal, and we can only hope that Russia will do as much, in reverse order.

Moral and Practical Politics

AS FAR as the immediate principle at issue is concerned, there can be no question of the proper attitude toward the present poll tax fight in the Senate. It is, of course, silly to object to filibustering in itself. This parliamentary tactic, like any tactic, can serve both good and bad ends. But in the present juncture, with business of the utmost importance pressing at the doors of the Legislature, no words can be strong enough to condemn resort to such procedure.

The basic question is simple. In a nation explicitly and constitutionally committed to equal suffrage, regardless of "race, color, or previous condition of servitude," the poll tax acts as a pure specimen of political hypocrisy, for everyone knows perfectly well that its purpose is to cut down the Negro vote to the vanishing point and preserve "white supremacy." On principle, the South is dead wrong, as many white Southerners and at least one important Southern newspaper freely admit.

There is another principle, however, which must enter into one's judgment of any piece of legislation. No law is a good law if it is repellant to a very large number of those to whom it applies, for its promulgation in such a case can lead to a general undermining of respect for all law and can engender bitter hatred between sections of the community. The prohibition experiment surely supplied ample demonstration of this. In judging the poll tax bill, this principle must be given weight, and may in the case of perfectly honest and right-thinking men lead to a conclusion other than our own.

We as Americans are unqualifiedly opposed to

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

all poll taxes, for any reason whatever, and especially to poll taxes which are used to circumvent the basic law of the land—a law that happens to be thoroughly Christian in its inspiration. Having said this much, the expediencies of the situation must be scrutinized. The Negro policy of this Administration—generally speaking, admirable—has built up a resentment which seriously threatens to split the Democratic Party (not the New Deal). No great harm, some readers might think. But remember what this particular sort of split would mean. It would practically guarantee a Republican victory in 1944, and that would allow the Republicans to nominate any sort of candidate they had a mind to—however tarnished or reactionary—instead of putting their best foot forward with the best man they can find. There is no evidence in the history of American party politics to lead us to believe that the old guard would not take advantage of such an opportunity. The result might be a calamity not only for us but for the world. This aspect of the situation has received too little attention. The pressure on the White House is tremendous, the threat real.

On the other hand failure to pass the poll tax bill can have terrible repercussions abroad—in China, in India, in the Southwest Pacific, not to mention its effect on our own Negro citizenry. Since, from the point of view of practical politics the problem is a true dilemma, both of its horns loaded with evil consequence, we believe the best solution is that indicated by the immediate moral principle involved. The poll tax must go if we would not, as a nation, lay ourselves open to the charge of being whited sepulchres.

Exhortation to Hatred

"OUR SOLDIERS must have the fighting spirit. If you call that hating our enemies, then we must hate with every fiber of our being. We must lust for battle. We must scheme day and night to kill. You must hit harder and harder, you must become tougher and tougher. You must hate more and more." The author of these remarks, quoted from a United Press dispatch in the New York *Times,* is not Adolf Hitler or one of his lieutenants; the speaker is not General Tojo or one of his colleagues; it is not even Mussolini in his days of fire and bombast. It is unhappily none other than the commander-in-chief of the American Army Ground Forces, Lieutenant General Leslie J. McNair. And the occasion is an Armistice Day address broadcast to the troops under his command. The UP summarizes his remarks in this wise: "American soldiers must have one objective in life—to hate, fight and kill." Can this be the banner under which the men of the United Nations go forth to liberate the world from tyranny? Could it be the watchword of any sincerely Christian soldier? The duty of defending one's country hardly calls for such a denial of basic moral principles. Where is the protest that greeted Bruno Mussolini's paean at seeing his bombs spatter primitive Ethiopian villages?

Lecture Notes

NATURAL RELIGION assumes that it will find the Unconditional objectively manifest in existence, and studies human experience in that hope, only to find that the more it learns, the clearer it becomes that all experience is dualistic, bifurcating into Individuality versus Universality, Known Object versus Knowing Subject, Extension versus Thought, Free Will versus Necessity, etc., and that it is impossible to relate these contradictory elements in such a way that either is conditioned by the other.

Since it cannot reconcile, Natural Religion must repress, and whether it choose to admit the Esthetic or the Ethical, it walks in dread lest the other half of life which it has rejected should come to consciousness, for then it must also become conscious that its choice was arbitrary, from which knowledge only one conclusion is possible, the scepticism of despair—What is Mind? No matter. What is Matter? Never mind.

* * *

Revealed religion starts out with the belief that God created the world *ex nihilo.* In that case everything manifest is equally real but equally conditioned, and if we cannot resolve the dualism of our experience, it is in our perception of existence that this dualism must lie, not in existence itself, i.e., a contradiction we manufacture for ourselves because we have eaten of the tree of the Knowledge of Good and Evil.

* * *

To say that the Unconditional is subjectively manifest is to say that every human action is an individual act of will, which cannot be judged in abstraction from the concrete temporal situation in which it occurs. In this, Revealed religion sides with the Esthetic against the Ethical in upholding the unique importance of the individual will. On the other hand, to say that the Unconditional is subjectively manifest, is also to say that a good act is always and only the product of a good will, and a bad act is always and only the product of an evil will. In this, Revealed religion sides with the Ethical against the Esthetic belief that to will is good in itself. Lastly it disagrees with both in asserting that the value of an act lies in its subjective intention, not in its manifest result.

* * *

A married man and a married woman are

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

tempted to commit adultery. They consult the Esthetic who asks smiling, "Are you in love? Really? You're quite sure? Then, children, I give you my blessing." Just to be on the safe side they consult the Ethical also who exclaims: "How dare you suggest such a thing. Quite inexcusable under any circumstances. But there, there, don't cry. I'll help you. I have here some excellent sedative pills. Take two every three hours."

As a last resort they consult the Religious who, before they can have even begun to tell their story, says: "I know what you are going to ask. If you are not in love, the question is academic and you should be ashamed of wasting my time and yours. If you are in love, I am very glad, but the answer is no. Suffer and praise God."

* * *

The recognition that, on any given occasion, one's will is evil is not an inevitable consequence of the structure of the human mind, like the recognition of the truths of mathematics, for one can refuse it; that is, it is a subjective religious event. The conversion of an evil will into a good will cannot be its own act, for it is impossible to will the opposite of what one wills; that is, it is an act of God's.

* * *

Freed from their religious pretensions, the esthetic and ethical can realize their proper functions, the first of providing a clear mirror in which each man may discover what his will is, the second of providing the means by which every good intenteion may translate itself into an effective result. Magic becomes Art: Ethics becomes Science.

* * *

Artistic truth is incorrigible—for what is, is—but of no practical value. Scientific truth has practical value, but it always remains corrigible, true only in a pragmatic sense. Both are beyond good and evil, but only because they are of secondary, not primary importance. Man's sinfulness is the same whether he recognizes it or not. The good or evil of his intention is the same, whether he succeeds in realizing it or not.

* * *

Since Art and Science are human activities, there is always an element of sin, the sin of idolatry, in our creation and enjoyment of either.

The lowbrow majority perceive, correctly, that if art and science are to be beyond good and evil, their importance will be secondary. The demand therefore that one or the other or both shall return to being the religion of self-love, that art shall flatter them, science give them the power to be successful in love, business and war.

The highbrow minority perceive, equally correctly, that if art and science surrender to this demand, they contradict their real nature. They try to insist, nevertheless, that their importance is primary, to construct a religion in which good and evil shall have no importance.

* * *

Once upon a time, in a poor woodcutter's cottage in the depths of the forest, a hunchback was born named Narcissus. His parents never dared to tell him of his deformity, and since they were too poor to own a looking-glass, there was no danger of his finding out the truth for himself. The time came, however, when he wished to go out into the world to seek his fortune. His parents, foreseeing what he would suffer, tried in vain to dissuade him. As he was on the point of leaving, his mother said to him: "When you arrive at a town, you will probably notice that people stare at you. Don't let this worry you. It would be odd, indeed, if they did not, for you are the handsomest young man in the world."

And so it was. People stared but, thinking he knew the reason, Narcissus was unperturbed. One day he came to a spring and saw his reflection for the first time, but the conviction that he was beautiful had become such a habit with him, that what he saw was only the reflection of his belief. "Ah, how handsome I am," he sighed, and remained enchanted by the spring. Ages went by until one fine morning a small boy passed that way, and catching sight of Narcissus, shouted: "Look at the funny hunchback," and threw a stone which struck him on the forehead so that he fell senseless.

When he came to himself, his mind was a blank. Try as he would to remember his past life, nothing came into his head but a meaningless phrase, "Look at the funny hunchback."

While he was repeating these words slowly to himself, he caught sight of his reflection in the spring, and suddenly realized what they meant. He sat there in a stupor of despair, repeating the phrase over and over again, but presently he began to listen to himself repeating it. "So what," he thought, "one doesn't meet a hunchback every day of the week, still less a hunchback who knows he is a hunchback. It's pretty smart of me to realize that I am not beautiful, and pretty brave of me to admit it." As he thought thus, the pitch of his chant rose, and its tempo accelerated. When the boy, who had taken to his heels as Narcissus fell, returned to make sure that he was all right, he found him sitting by the spring, jabbering so fast that the words were scarcely intelligible, and in such a high squeak that, like a bat, he was scarcely audible:

Look at the funny hunchback
Look at the funny hunchback
Look at the funny hunchback.

DIDYMUS.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Revolution IV

THE PROBLEM of Italy is not like the problem of France. When the German army shall have been driven out of France, when the German constraint shall have been removed from France, there will be a free France. Just like that. At once. In all certainty the French people will be free. They will be exhausted, miserable, embittered. There will be confusion. But they will be free to resume their interrupted debate, their search for a just political and social régime, free, as we in America are free, to establish just institutions and to live in effort and hope. But the freeing of Italy from Grman constraint will not automatically create a free Italy. Not just like that. Not at once. The French were free before the war. The Italians were not free before the war. When the Germans get out of France, the French will wake one morning and the night before they were slaves but on that morning they will be free. When the Germans get out of Italy and even when Mussolini is driven from power and even when Ciano and the rest of them are driven from power, the Italians will still be slaves to the system they have tolerated for so long. The entire structure of their nation has been fascist for years. It was fascist in peace and it was more evil in peace than it has been in war. It was fascist before the Germans came into Italy: it will remain fascist after they are gone. It will remain fascist until a revolution breaks down, breaks through, and clears away the stabilized interests that have served fascism and have profited by fascism. It will remain fascist until the Italian people are able to give form to the desire which is latent, perhaps, in all men everywhere, but which lives strongly and clearly in the Italian tradition—the desire for self-government. Fascism will live until, rejoining the great current of the Risorgimento, the will of the Italian people reasserts the fundamental principles of democracy.

That will be for later. All that will be built up gradually, precariously, later. Freedom will be brought into institutions and into life, later. At first there will be destruction.

We are calling for revolution everywhere in Europe. We are calling upon the peoples of Europe to revolt against our enemies and, where their own régimes and governments stand in the way, to revolt against these régimes and governments. First there was France and now we are calling upon the Italian people to revolt; soon we will be calling upon the German people to revolt. We want these revolts timed to assist our invasion. We want them so timed in order to avoid their resulting simply in the massacre of our friends. We have sent a form letter to all the conquered peoples of Europe inviting them to revolution. We have sent a form letter to the peoples who have conquered Europe asking them also to revolt. This is entirely legitimate, for it is this solidarity in revolt which explains and justifies the war. It is through these several revolutions that we expect will arise, and become visible, in every nation of Europe, the free men, the free Europeans, with whom we can establish a new world and an old justice.

The revolutions are coming. The new men are coming. With our advance toward victory the new men and the barricades will be everywhere in every country: our victory will find revolution everywhere in Europe. Everything will be new enough, violent enough, and the destruction of our enemies complete enough. But we may not find that the new men have set the new deal as a final limit to their new power. The new men may find us old fashioned.

That is why—if we are to avoid surprises—we must define with increasing precision and seriousness exactly what content we intend to give to the revolution we call for and proclaim. That is why—if we are to avoid becoming ridiculous—we must explain that revolution in our minds is compatible with all sorts of traditional values and incompatible with communism, exaggerated nationalism, or mob violence. For our aim is not simply to destroy; our aim is to build. We must know the new men with whom we are to build and we must tell them with some precision what are our plans. It is not a question of telling them what they must build in their own countries. Inevitably they will and must decide that for themselves. It is a question of whether we will work with them or not. It is a question of our taking a clear stand in the conflict and debate of hopes and plans for building society anew after victory and in a waste land. It is a question of being prepared politically for the highly complex political situation which will be in Europe after the German defeat and which is now in Europe, already, and increasing as the probability of that defeat becomes apparent. It is a question of being prepared to recognize the men with whom it will be possible to work.

* * *

Two quotations: (1) Mr. de la Bedoyere (quoted in the New York *Times*): "a satisfactory Mediterranean peace could be negotiated with the good-will and even the mediation of the Vatican, so long as the United Nations are prepared to allow the best elements in Italy and Spain to *remain in* or rise to power." (Italics mine.) (2) *Italy against Fascism* (Pamphlet. P.O. Box 288, Grand Central Annex, New York): "They [the United Nations] fail to understand that, after twenty years, what is *legitimate* in a fascist country can only be that which is *illegal*."

C. G. PAULDING.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

China: Captive or Free?

What is the status and prospect for democracy in China?

By **Harry Paxton Howard**

"NO CHINESE ARMIES are actively engaged in large-scale offensive operations against the Japanese for the reason, principally, that there is lacking to all Chinese armies types and amounts of equipment which are essential to such operations." Such is the situation in China at present, as noted in a memorandum by Sumner Welles, Under-Secretary of State, on October 12. To those of us who are familiar with the situation in China, it is not "news." All of us know that Chiang Kai-shek's armies were dependent upon foreign supplies for arms successfully to fight the Japanese. And all of us knew that Japanese occupation of Burma and the Chinese border adjoining it meant the virtual end of regular military supplies to Chungking—excepting such as could be flown in.

The only offensive operations of a military nature which are now possible against the Japanese in China are either guerrilla warfare by light-armed forces, or air raids on Japanese-occupied Chinese cities by American planes—some of which might bear Chinese insignia. But such things cannot be decisive. Guerilla warfare may make things very miserable for Japanese outposts, but neither this nor destructive raids on Chinese cities can defeat Japan.

This does not mean that Japan has "conquered" China. We must remember that the vast territories shown on the map as China are equal in size to the entire continent of Europe, and the population of this immense country (between 450,000,000 and 500,000,000) is similarly comparable to the population of all Europe. Japan, however, is a country hardly greater than the British Isles, and though its population is half again as large as those islands, its industrial resources are less. And Japan can never physically conquer China any more than Britain could ever conquer the vast continent of Europe.

"Partition" of China

The Japanese, however, have secured domination of very important areas of China—the great northeastern provinces ("Manchukuo"), the principal coast and river ports, the coastal areas, enormous stretches of the hinterland (including most of the North China and Yangtze plains) with its principal cities and connecting railways. There may be 150,000,000, possibly 200,000,000 Chinese in what are termed the "occupied" areas. In European terms these areas are roughly comparable to all western Europe plus most of Germany, and all the coast-line of Europe.

But there remain the great mountainous areas of South China and the interior, and the great and fertile province of Szechwan (now the center of the Chungking Government) with from 250,000,000 to 300,000,000 inhabitants. In European terms these areas are roughly comparable to European Russia as of 1940, plus central Europe excepting Germany and running through the Alps and other mountains across Europe and down into the Italian and Balkan peninsulas. Most of this enormous territory—which can never be conquered outright by the Japanese—still acknowledges the authority of the National Government at Chungking, headed by Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek. Thousands of interior villages know of the war only by the requisitions of food and of men for the Army. But thousands of villages in "border areas" and "guerrilla areas" are terribly aware of war, chaos, destruction and armed anarchy.

From a military viewpoint, the situation described by Under-Secretary Welles leaves the Japanese in direct or indirect occupation of the principal cities, ports, coastal regions and productive plains of China, with more than one-third of the population of China. But this does not mean dominating all China. General Chiang Kai-shek can carry on a "Free China" Government in the deep interior as long as we are prepared to finance him, other Chinese military leaders are prepared to follow his lead, and Chinese forces are prepared bitterly to resist the invaders.

Political Front

The military viewpoint, furthermore, is by no means the only one. In fact, the serious weakening of the anti-Japanese military front means that the "political front" must be of ever greater importance. From a military viewpoint, a million well-equipped, well-organized, well-directed men are far stronger than fifty million unarmed or poorly armed men. But from a political viewpoint, the vast numbers of the native population inside and outside the "occupied areas" are of

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

enormous importance. Even in the "occupied areas," the Japanese cannot long rule their erstwhile subjects direct. They cannot maintain garrisons in every community in a land far greater and more populous than their own. They require the cooperation of Chinese politicians and business men prepared to carry on the routine tasks of government and economic life, and with the acquiescence of the ruled.

The Japanese have ever more seriously been seeking to consolidate their domination of the occupied areas, and to secure the cooperation of Chinese in this work. Most of these Chinese are termed "Quislings" by patriotic Chinese, and understandably so. Their motives are varied, but they are seldom dominated by affection for Japanese rule. Wang Ching-wei, the most prominent Chinese political figure working with the Japanese today, hopes to utilize Japan's needs to his own advantage in order to gain the position of a semi-autonomous ruler closely linked with Japan. The Japanese militarists are anxious to withdraw the bulk of their troops from China, both because they are needed on other fronts and because the permanent maintenance of more than a million men in China is an unbearable burden on Japan.

Wang, as head of a "National Government" in treaty relations and semi-alliance with Japan (though "neutral" in the war), has built up and expanded a "puppet" army of Chinese, financed by the Japanese, just as he has obtained a new National Bank of Shanghai, similarly financed by the Japanese.

With Chungking's forces seriously and increasingly hampered by lack of modern arms and equipment, and the Japanese withdrawing as many as possible of their own troops for service elsewhere, Wang Ching-wei's growing armies are no longer negligible in the military situation. Dispatches from Chungking have repeatedly referred to these "puppet forces," as well as to the political activities of Nanking's agents. There have been defections on both sides. Nanking has bought off some guerrilla bands or "gray" generals, but sometimes these are bought back again—or Nanking troops are induced to desert to Chungking. And on both sides, there is not only purchase but intensive propaganda—political warfare.

War of propaganda

Chungking, of course, stresses its patriotic struggle against Japanese invasion, appeals to Chinese nationalism and to the courage and heroism required for continued warfare and sacrifice, declares that China's only hope is continued resistance until the Japanese are driven completely from the country, proclaims the strength and wealth and power of the Western Powers opposing Japan and denounces Wang and his group as "traitors" and "puppets" of Japan—China's sole enemy. Nanking, on the other hand, violently asserts its own "nationalism," declares that its "Peace Movement" and "neutrality" are China's only hope in a war which is leading to the "complete destruction of China" as a nation, denounces Britain and America as the exploiters of China and promoters of war, hails their repeated setbacks, and fiercely attacks Chiang Kai-shek as a "traitor" and "puppet" of these "Western Imperialist" Powers, suborned by American gold to conscript his Chinese subjects as cannon-fodder against Japan.

Nanking's propaganda, however wildly absurd it may seem to us, has not always fallen upon deaf ears. The sufferings of the Chinese people in war-ravaged areas during the past four and a half years have been unspeakable, and of tremendous magnitude. And there is no sign of any early victory for Chungking. Close at hand, Chinese can see the very situation now officially revealed by Sumner Welles. Our vast resources and industrial power, by which we hope to bring victory out of defeat, are unknown or are meaningless words to them. During the past year they have seen Japanese forces (with some native auxiliaries) drive the white man from power in all southeastern Asia and the southwest Pacific. As Mrs. Chiang Kai-shek said of it: "We could not believe it, could not understand it." Many misinformed and misled Americans felt the same way. But it was a fact. White power and white prestige have suffered a mortal blow in Asia. Asiatics consider that the generations of white domination are passing, that British and American and other Western empires in Asia are outdated and doomed. Most Asiatics are glad to see white domination passing—however anxious they may be of the future.

And not only the Japanese but their native auxiliaries and associates in every Asiatic country play this up to the utmost. Nanking and its agents never miss an opportunity to emphasize our defeats and setbacks, to attack venomously our "special privileges" and our "racial superiority" ideas at a time when we "are being shown to be inferiors," and to vilify Chiang Kai-shek and his associates as mere agents of this evil and moribund white imperialism. Nanking, in fact, uses American phrases and arguments in its propaganda. To say that Chiang Kai-shek is fighting "America's battle in China" is excellent propaganda for the Generalissimo in this country. But it sounds completely different to the Chinese. It is, in fact, one of Nanking's favorite slogans.

Needed—a political offensive

What is the answer to Nanking's activities? The most "simple" one, of course, is executing the "peace" propagandists. But they are not always caught; their work goes on. Lovers of Chinese

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

freedom want something more. What is needed is a propagandist and political offensive more powerful and more convincing than Wang Ching-wei's, something which will appeal to the masses of China as a real doctrine of liberation, worth fighting for to the bitter end. For this, "nationalism" is not enough. There must be a real and genuine movement for political freedom and economic advancement for the common people of China.

The field for such a movement has, indeed, been convincingly demonstrated by the success of the Chinese communists. These men have utilized "nationalist" slogans to the full, but neither this nor any doctrinaire "communism" has been the main reason for their successes. The real reason for this lies deeper—lies in their practical answers and solutions to the grim problems of hunger and misery and recurrent famines in China. In every area where they have gained control they have shifted taxation from the poor to the well-to-do, equalized somewhat the actual ownership of land, organized and promoted cooperative economic activity, established schools for young and old, and have roused among all ages a greater and deeper interest in their real problems and a new sense of their importance as part of a great struggle.

Democracy in China

Why has it been left to the Chinese communists to perform some of the most elementary tasks of democracy in China? Why has this urgently necessary work been left to men who take credit for it not as democrats but as communists, working through a single party for a one-party dictatorship, above the people, and using "democracy" merely as a political tactic on the way to absolute power? The most serious reason for this—and the reason which most urgently concerns us as Americans and as internationalists deeply anxious for the defeat of fascism—is the fact that the Powers *jointly* (including our own American Government) conspired with Chinese reactionaries and counter-revolutionists against the attempt to establish a democratic republic in China. Our conspiratorial intrigues and our finances enabled our military "protégés" to destroy the republic. And the liberty-loving Chinese people, balked in their noble struggle for freedom and equality, sank back into apathy and despair under a military anarchy worse than the Imperial régime which preceded it.

It was because we conspired against and destroyed democracy in China, and at every stage of development for the past thirty years continued to do so, that the communists were able to gain the control and leadership which they did over great numbers of the impoverished and bitterly exploited masses of China. Let us make no mistake about it. The Chinese Republic established in 1912 was destroyed by Yuan Shih-kai, the reactionary Chinese warlord, with finances supplied to him by the Powers jointly, despite the protests and appeals of the Chinese parliament. Our own government, though not participating in the actual "Disorganization Loan" to our Chinese Franco, soon revealed itself as the most blindly reactionary of all Powers in China, when we advised Yuan to reestablish the Empire with himself as Emperor. His foolish attempt to do this—with our diplomatic encouragement and offers of financial assistance—brought his downfall, as even his own conservative followers would not support him in this move and all Powers excepting the United States warned against it. And China sank steadily into military chaos and anarchy, while its common people sank into deeper and deeper misery and ever more chronic famine.

It is this international conspiracy with Chinese militarism and reaction against the republic which lies at the root of the present evil and horror in China. For it was the terrible conditions of the common people of China, balked and denied in their aspirations for freedom and equality, which gave the communists their great opportunity, with Moscow supplying the inspiration and leadership which we should have given to these simple, democratic people. And it was the conditions of military anarchy and chaos which made it possible for Japan and other Powers to intrigue with some Chinese militarists or groups against others, and finally to plunge China into the welter of blood and horror that we know today. What the historian Tyler Dennett wrote many years ago is still true today: "America is as responsible as any power for the evil that is now the Far East."

War for Freedom

Our influence has been felt in China in every crisis during the present century, and our influence has at *all* times—without a single honorable exception—been thrown on the side of despotic and dictatorial and reactionary Chinese forces as against the forces of Chinese democracy. The latter, necessarily, were revolutionary, and some of our presidents and other politicians have chosen to forget that our own democracy is revolutionary. But we are now faced with grim alternatives. We must return to first principles. We must promote democracy or we shall lose the war.

The Japanese are patronizing Wang Ching-wei's "Orthodox" Kuomintang, are the supporters of this form of fascism in the most populous and developed areas of China. It has made and is making advances, and we must recognize clearly its serious menace.

For a powerful Chinese fascism strengthened by a shrewd "peace" propaganda, supporting and supported by Japanese feudal militarists, is one

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

of the most terrible threats to a free world. If the Japanese, by this combination of military and political weapons, can go on until they dominate most of China, they will have the most populous empire in the history of the human race. They will have, with the conquered colonies to the south, some 800,000,000 regimented subjects, outnumbering us six to one—and with enormous industrial resources. If America and American democracy are to survive, we must check this fearful threat of Japanese imperialism supporting and supported by native fascisms throughout the Far East—"Asia for the Asiatic Fascists!" And the first place we can move direct is China.

What form of government?

Are we, then—I hear some reactionary "liberals" protesting—to "dictate" to the Chinese what their form of government should be? The question is wrongly put. What is now suggested is that we *stop* dictating reactionary and despotic policies to the Chinese, and alter our policy to a democratic one—of sincere and honest cooperation with democratic elements and democratic forces in China. The fact that Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek wields dictatorial powers, and that the Kuomintang stands for and actually exercises one-party dictatorship in its territories, does not mean that we must "oppose" this government. For the "power behind the throne" is the United States. We are the patrons and supporters of the "Free China" Government at Chungking, and in so far as General Chiang and his Kuomintang are dictatorial, it is because we have supported it as such. Chiang Kai-shek actually participated in the Chinese Revolution in 1912. The Kuomintang was not reorganized for the exercise of one-party dictatorship until 1924—under Moscow's direct influence. We were anti-democratic and anti-revolutionary in China long before either Chiang or the Kuomintang adopted this tragic line. If we return to the political principles which have made America free and great, and support those liberty-loving Chinese who want to see their own country enjoy the blessings of freedom and democracy, our course will be clear.

The Chinese Republic has a constitution—the long-dead Constitution of 1912. This may need revision as well as resurrection today, but its fundamental principle is that of our own government—a people's republic, based on representative government and equal rights for all. Despite the terrible wave of reaction and dictatorship in China during the past thirty years, there are still courageous and capable figures who have stood firmly and still stand for constitutional and representative government for their country. Most prominent of these Chinese democrats is Dr. Hu Shih, recently Chinese Ambassador at Washington, who has been at times condemned by the Kuomintang for his political writings but who has courageously remained a consistent advocate of democracy and the rights of man. Men of similar convictions but of lesser scholarship and fame are scattered throughout China and throughout the Kuomintang Government itself, doing their bit as patriots in the hope of greater freedom after expulsion of the Japanese invaders and the defeat of the Nanking fascist régime.

China's Communists, who by their measures of social improvement and economic justice have gained widespread support among the masses in many areas, would be agreeable to such a move. In the past, Moscow has repeatedly interfered to keep the Chinese communists in line with dictatorship in China, and to prevent their active cooperation with democratic Chinese elements. If we ourselves were to support democratic elements, Chinese communists would themselves be ready and willing. And we could quietly demand and obtain Moscow's agreement not to oppose such cooperation—and henceforth to sever completely all control and all relations with its "Chinese section." Moscow is too desperately in need at this moment to refuse us this.

A Democratic China

The Chungking Government is still in control of enormous areas of China, with a population twice that of the entire United States. In its vast provinces and territories outside the actual "war zone," the introduction of a democratic constitution and the actual beginnings of a representative system could be inaugurated even in war time. The Kuomintang was reorganized in 1924—under Moscow's influence—for one-party dictatorship. It should be reorganized today for its original aim—democratic government.

The United States is the one power which can—if it will—act effectively in China, working with and for a democratic leadership which can mobilize the will and energy and love of freedom among the Chinese people into a force which will be able to win overwhelmingly by political weapons against the Japanese invaders and their Chinese fascist collaborators. If we are to take such a new and positive line, we shall have to demonstrate our own sincerity by abandoning completely our attitude of racial superiority, our own imperial privileges in China (which we have repeatedly promised to abandon, but which we have not yet abandoned and evidently do not *intend* to abandon), and our own legal and official and contemptuous discrimination against Asiatics.

In other words, we shall have to treat the free Chinese people as our "equals" in the making of a free and organized world. But with their splendid cooperation we can have such a world. And we shall have earned their eternal gratitude—and the gratitude and respect of all free peoples forever.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Justice for the Citizen

What the Department of Justice can do for individuals.

By **Wendell Berge***

. . . Justice cannot live, cannot be a thing we know and touch until it stands, strong and serene, in every town and city and village in every section of our land. Until a man, white or black, anywhere in America, can find justice in the courts. . .

THE above quotation from an editorial entitled "Justice" in the August 7, 1942, issue of THE COMMONWEAL, properly places emphasis on an important requirement of our democracy. It is not merely the abstract conception of justice, set up as an ideal or an ultimate goal, that we must have in America, nor can we rest content with a token or symbol. To be real the quality of justice must be all-pervasive. There must be a complete accessibility which does not end before it reaches the lowliest citizen in the land. In the democratic conception of justice that is intrinsic.

Here in America, probably more than in any other nation on earth, the dispensation of justice has a broad, generous embrace. Yet we are far from perfect. In years past, our poor, our ignorant, and our otherwise under-privileged, have found many barriers standing between them and the hope of obtaining justice. Some of these have been deliberately planted; some have been technical; and some have been due to a lack of knowledge, pure and simple, on the part of victimized persons. For whatever cause, they have been effective barriers.

Within recent years, new cognizance has been taken of these barriers by the Government of the United States. In the realization that a democracy cannot completely fulfill its high purpose until the quality we know as justice is available to the "lowliest" of its citizens, a Federal agency for the express purpose of making it available, in so far as possible, within the present framework of the law, is now in operation.

The Civil Rights Section of the Criminal Division of the United States Department of Justice was established to aid in the protection of civil rights and civil liberties of citizens and inhabitants of any State, Territory, or District.

It should be understood that the Federal Constitution is not the sole reservoir of civil rights and civil liberties; many basic state laws cover incidents which are beyond the corrective powers of the Federal government. For example, the Bill of Rights and the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Amendments to the Constitution are most widely mentioned as sources of civil liberty. The Bill of Rights is a collection of prohibitions against oppressive action by the Federal government; the Fourteenth Amendment is a safeguard against encroachments upon life, liberty and property by the several states.

Vigilantism, lynchings, and other forms of private oppressive action which strike at basic liberties such as freedom of speech, freedom of worship, trial before condemnation and equal enjoyment of all "political" (as opposed to "social") rights without regard to race, are not apt to be protected by these constitutional guarantees. Should a mob of private individuals suppress a soap-box speaker or murder a state defendant awaiting trial in a criminal case, the victim's right to freedom of speech or due process of law has been denied him; but these rights, though guaranted by the Federal statutes or Constitution, are often violated in practice. The Fifteenth Amendment declares that the right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude; yet poll tax requirements and other state qualifications have been invoked to limit in practical effect the franchise of a great mass of United States citizens, many of whom are colored. Basic correction of these injustices must come from the States. Where correction does not come spontaneously, the Federal authority must in some way—either through criminal enforcement or by administrative liaison with local state officials—work out an observance of Constitutional or statutory guarantees, whether they be Federal or State.

The Civil Rights Section in the main relies upon Sections 51 and 52, Title 18, United States Code. These two statutes are very general in terms and had their origin in the Enforcement Act of 1870. The pertinent part of Section 51 reads as follows:

> If two or more persons conspire to injure, oppress, threaten, or intimidate any citizen in the free exercise or

* The opinions expressed in this article are those of the author who is Assistant United States Attorney General and not necessarily those of the Department of Justice.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

> enjoyment of any right or privilege secured to him by the Constitution or laws of the United States, or because of his having so exercised the same, . . . they shall be fined not more than $5,000 and imprisoned not more than 10 years, and shall, moreover, be thereafter ineligible to any office or place of honor, profit or trust, created by the Constitution or laws of the United States.

The limitations on the use of this statute are: that the offense cannot be committed by one person acting alone; that it must be committed against a citizen and hence is of little comfort to aliens; and, most important, that the gist of the crime is harmful activity against a victim who is exercising or has exercised Federally secured rights. In each complaint coming to the Department, the first inquiry is to determine what Federal right is involved; and the list of such rights which would be violated by a conspiracy of private individuals is a short one.

The Constitutional rights which come within the protection of Section 51 are none of those secured by the first eight amendments or by the Fourteenth Amendment unless the conspiracy involves the participation of a State or Federal official and, through him, the power of the State or the Federal government to injure or oppress a citizen. From those amendments come rights against illegal *official* action only. There can be no right under them to protection against illegal *private* action.

Section 52, Title 18, United States Code, in contrast with Section 51, is aimed primarily at breach of constitutional guarantees against governmental action found in the first eight and in the Fourteenth Amendments. The Section is as follows:

> Whoever under color of any law, statute, ordinance, regulation, or custom wilfully subjects, or causes to be subjected, any inhabitant of any State, Territory, or District to the deprivation of any rights, privileges or immunities secured or protected by the Constitution and laws of the United States, or to different punishments, pains, or penalties, on account of such inhabitant being an alien, or by reason of his color, or race than are prescribed for the punishment of citizens, shall be fined not more than $1,000, or imprisoned not more than one year, or both.

Two offenses are defined: first, the willful subjection of any inhabitant, "under color of law" to a deprivation of rights secured by the United States Constitution or laws; second, the willful subjection of any inhabitant "under color of law" to discriminatory pains or punishments on account on race, color, or alien status.

Unlike Section 51, Section 52 protects inhabitants. It is not limited merely to citizens. The rights protected include: freedom from physical restraint and other forms of assault and battery; freedom of speech and of the press; freedom to assemble peaceably; to petition the government; to pursue a lawful calling; to acquire and use knowledge; and to establish a home. Akin to these rights is the right to move freely from state to state. Wilful interference with such rights by public officers falls within the offense defined by Section 52.

The right to due process is also a source of several distinct rights, namely, the right to a real, and not a sham or pretended hearing, the right of a defendant in a criminal case to real representation by counsel.

Two rules of law, which ironically enough are calculated to protect civil rights, retard the development of case law under the Civil Rights Act. First, criminal statutes must be strictly construed in the interest of protecting personal freedom. The extension of the "catch all" provisions of Sections 51 and 52 to new situations, and to newly made conceptions of implied Federal rights is highly susceptible to this rule of construction. Secondly, the government has no right to appeal from an adverse result in a criminal case (except when the indictment or information is attacked for insufficiency or on the basis of the invalidity or construction of the statute on which the indictment or information is framed).

During the period from July 1, 1941, to June 30, 1942, numerous complaints were received in the Civil Rights Section involving Negro victims. Twenty-nine investigations were directed by the Department and conducted by the Federal Bureau of Investigation which failed to disclose violation as alleged. However, in many instances the investigation had a salutary effect in that it specifically brought to public attention the fact that Negroes did possess rights which could not be disregarded with impunity.

A conviction was obtained in the State of Alabama for having subjected a Negro to a condition of peonage. In four cases involving charges of peonage, the jury trials resulted in acquittals. Federal grand juries refused to return indictments in five instances. Three indictments were returned and trials will be had in the early fall.

In the case of *Taylor* v. *Georgia,* a brief *amicus* was filed by the Department in opposition to the Georgia Labor Debt Statute. Taylor, a Negro, had been placed in prison for violating the statute which made it a crime to refuse to perform a labor contract when money had been advanced. The United States Supreme Court on January 12, 1942, held the statute to be unconstitutional.

Another line of complaint involves Negro victims in connection with the attempt to exercise the right of franchise. Two trials, one in North, the other in South Carolina, resulted in acquittals.

Another form of complaint is concerned with the lynching of Negroes. In the early part of this year at Sikeston, Missouri, Cleo Wright was taken from the local jail by a mob and lynched. The case went to the Federal grand jury, which did not return an indictment.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

A Negro soldier, Sergeant Thomas Foster, was slain by a Little Rock, Arkansas, policeman. At the request of the War Department, the matter was presented to the grand jury. A no bill was returned. In both the Wright and Foster instances, the evidence was presented by Special Assistants to the Attorney General who were assigned to the respective cases.

Several complaints of lynching treatment accord Negroes in various states are under investigation at the present time. The Department has requested the Federal Bureau of Investigation and the respective United States Attorneys to expedite the investigations. The Department has pointed out that lynchings and other injustices have been utilized by enemy propagandists in international broadcasts particularly directed to people of the colored races with the allegation that the Democracies are "insincere" and that the enemy is the true friend of these peoples.

The importance of preserving the civil rights of all American citizens, and especially of removing injustices that stem from racial differences, thus transcends any traditional, sectional, or political considerations at this time. The violation of civil liberties is now more than localized weakness. It has become a potential source of war weakness. In correcting it, the Nation will find new strength.

Views & Reviews

BY MICHAEL WILLIAMS

THIS DEPARTMENT received lately one more of the many curious examples of the strange literature of "prophecy" which always is so abundant in times of trouble and calamity. It was a carbon copy of a letter addressed "To the Editor," and undoubtedly many other copies reached many editorial desks. One main stream of such communications stems from what might be termed Oriental fountains of gnostic fantasy, and in our country they ordinarily reach the public via Los Angeles, or other sub-stations in the California chain of mass-produced occultism, keeping many printing presses and radio stations busy. How many of them are simon-pure (or Simon Magus) frauds, or are linked up with the fifth column agents striving to use all such means to soften and weaken the public mind, or, on the other hand, how many of them are sincere in their singular forms of faith, perhaps the responsible chiefs of the F.B.I. might be able to guess; but probably even Mr. Hoover and his astute agents must often be puzzled to decide. Another main stream of such prognostications, most of them, of course, now dealing with the war, stems from that fertile source of prophecy, the Bible. The one now before me depends, as so many of the personal interpretations of Holy Writ seem nearly always to depend, upon the mysterious book of Daniel. By taking certain texts that supply arithmetical data, such as "from the time when the continual sacrifice shall be taken away, and the abomination unto desolation shall be set up, there shall be a thousand two hundred and ninety days" and "blessed is he that waiteth and cometh unto a thousand three hundred thirty-five days," the letter-writer concludes that the present war is indicated and that since it started on September 3, 1939, the occult period of 1,335 days will run its course "between March and May, 1943, when it should be evident to Germany that further fighting would be hopeless to her and she will be ready to quit."

I was just about to drop the letter in the waste-basket, yet with the thought, "Well, who knows? Anyhow, I hope you are right, Mr. Prophet," when I chanced to glance at the most recent copy of my diocesan newspaper, and saw a two column head that ran as follows: "Pontiff's Prayer for Russia Stirs Interest; Prophecy Is Recalled." The heading was placed above a despatch from Vatican City released by the NCWC news service. It stated that particular importance must be attributed to the radio message which Pope Pius XII broadcast to Portugal recently in which he consecrated the Church and the world to the Immaculate Heart of the Blessed Virgin Mary. In his broadcast the Holy Father recalled the similar solemn act of Pope Leo XIII in 1899, when mankind was consecrated to the Sacred Heart of Jesus. The broadcast to Portugal marked the observance in that country of the twenty-fifth anniversary of the apparition of the Blessed Virgin at Fatima. "It is noted," says the NCWC despatch, "that one of the prophecies connected with the apparition of the Blessed Virgin at Fatima says of the present war that it will end when humanity is consecrated to the Immaculate Heart of Mary."

The Pope's allusion in his broadcast to religious conditions in Russia and the hope to further improvement "also left a deep impression." It was based upon "the singular devotion" which the Russian people from earliest Christian times have given to the Blessed Virgin. In his fervent prayer to Mary the Holy Father begged the Queen of Peace especially to remember those Russian homes in which the venerated icon of Mary was ever present, "today often hidden and reserved for better days."

Just how far the Church has or has not approved or permitted belief in the credibility of the apparition of the Blessed Virgin at Fatima, in Portugal, including the "prophecies" connected with that event—of which this department of THE COMMONWEAL, at least, had never so much as heard before—I do not know, except, of course, that the fact that the Pope took part in Portugal's celebration of the occurrence in itself gives the cult firm standing. But the faith in the power of the Mother of Christ is the great fact, irrespective of what did or did not happen at her shrine in Portugal. That vast power is invoked by our own hierarchy in their joint statement in which they appoint December 8 the Feast of the Immaculate Conception of Mary, the Patroness of the United States, as a special day of prayerful supplication for victory and a just peace. So, in its way, the personal prophecy of the unknown student of the Book of Daniel links up with the tide of hope stemming from faith in Mary released from the shrine in Portugal. Let us hope that both forms of faith will be justified. But meanwhile, as we pray, let us "pass the ammunition."

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Communications

A RUMOR LOOKED INTO

New York, N. Y.

TO the Editors: Mr. Binsse's review, in your issue of October 16, of Dr. Donald Pierson's "Negroes in Brazil" may be passed over by your readers, since it deals with a heavy book and an unfamiliar subject. I should suggest, therefore, a re-reading of that review because of the importance of one point brought out by Mr. Binsse's skilled analysis.

This is the much-neglected consideration that if and when race prejudice ceases to be a dominating factor in the social policies of a nation, it is then possible to deal realistically with the social problems of a depressed and only partly integrated group. The destruction of race prejudice is not a departure from realism in favor of Utopia, but a necessary clearing of the ground for the handling of human problems on a soundly human basis. Brazil, as Mr. Binsse notes, is no paradise for the Negro. But it is a country where the Negro is regarded for what he is, and can be; not for what he is conventionally supposed to be, or not to be. JOHN LAFARGE, S.J.

PATAGONIA

New York, N. Y.

TO the Editors: When I am moved to seek a topic for furious discussion with friends I need only raise the bogy of a contemporary approach to religious art or "what is wrong with education in our Catholic schools?" In the first instance I hold certain convictions: in the second I am a bit at sea, because I am a product of the Christian Brothers in Montreal and, therefore, am outside the pale of mere academic irritation. But whenever I hear criticism of certain phases of education in our Catholic institutions I think of the work of the students at Marygrove College, Detroit. Each year these students produce a commencement number of their college magazine, *The Watch Tower*. This year's contribution to scholastic achievement is devoted to the work of the Jesuits in Paraguay, from 1607 to 1767, under the title of "A Spiritual Conquest." Those who have read Cunninghame Graham's "A Vanished Arcadia" will realize what a great work was accomplished by the Jesuits in Paraguay.

The story of this spiritual conquest, as told by the Marygrove College students, is divided into six parts: missionary labors in Hispanic America; the Jesuit Reductions, ideal states; the land and people of old Uruguay; the Christian way of life; the destruction of the Reductions; the evaluation of the Reductions.

It seems to me that the present-day exponents of collaboration and intelligent understanding between the Americas could take a leaf out of this effort of the students in a truly progressive Catholic college. An institution that provides such an orientation for its students is indeed doing a noble and challenging work. And it need not be apologetic with regard to any secular college, even though these are sometimes better publicized. After all, a Catholic college should still be committed to the proposition that two plus two equals four. MAURICE LAVANOUX.

B. ALTMAN & CO.

two best-sellers

from our casual shirts, main floor

beautiful rayon-diagonal twill with the convertible, American neckline. White, blue or maize, sizes 32 to 38;

short-sleeved version, 3.50

with long sleeves 3.95

monogramming, 25c extra for 3 letters

allow one week for delivery . . . no c. o. d.'s on monogrammed orders.

Fifth Avenue at 34th Street Telephone MU. 9-7000
Also at our East Orange and White Plains Shops

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The Stage & Screen

Without Love

IT USED to be that Philip Barry wrote superb vehicles for a tall, boyishly flat young woman named Hope Williams. With "The Philadelphia Story" he switched allegiance to a tall, boyishly flat young woman named Katharine Hepburn, and his new play, "Without Love," is chiefly remarkable as a vehicle for Miss Hepburn.

Equally, Katharine Hepburn, like Hope Williams before her, is a superb vehicle for Philip Barry: the perfect embodiment of what accrues as Mr. Barry's ideal of womanhood.

This ideal of Mr. Barry's is an American Diana in platinum. Her breeding is so irreproachable and her wealth so firmly entrenched that she can affect to disvalue them. She is handsome rather than beautiful; forthright rather than feminine; most at home atop a thoroughbred hunter or leaning at a sharp angle, in dinner pajamas, against an heirloom Steinway. Somewhere in her near background is a psychic injury deriving from parental or marital maladjustment which crusts her naturally romantic nature with a protective veneer of sophisticated cynicism. Her true heart is ardent, militantly licit, and whimsically fanciful.

The Diana of "Without Love" is the Yankee-bred orphan of a distinguished senator who eschews love because she knows she can never duplicate the blissful interlude with her young husband tragically killed in a hunting accident. Patrick Jamieson abjures love for the oppposite reason: his single experience of it has been humiliatingly unsatisfactory. Diana ("Jamie" to Mr. Barry) is lonely; Patrick is poor, ambitious, and homeless; they agree upon a platonic marriage of convenience.

Mr. Barry confutes Plato with rather less, on the whole, than his norm of deft banter, and rather more than his norm of whimsy, particularly in the fey scene at the Steinway when Jamie "seduces" her husband. Whimsy of this sort has today a definite period flavor: the period of mid-prohibition, when Dorothy Parker and Donald Ogden Stewart were the craze.

But Jamie and Jamieson not only represent a human problem but symbolize a political one. Jamie is the symbol of imperial Britain, while Jamieson is the symbol of stubborn Eire, where his father had been for many years our popular minister. Jamieson returns to Washington in May of 1940 with a sharp and unique sense of the doom impending over us. He adopts as his special province the bettering of Anglo-Irish relations. With enviable, not to say incredible, facility he soon is anonymously directing, with social assists from his wife, the presidential policy. The political elements of "Without Love" are always, it seemed to me, naïve and improbable, as well as badly integrated with the romantic elements—as if an absent-minded printer had bound together alternate pages from the *New Republic* and the *New Yorker*.

"Without Love" will be successful, I guess, chiefly on account of the pictorial value of Katharine Hepburn's performance. Miss Hepburn overplays herself during the first act, but after the intermission her decorative affectations begin to work their special magic. It's a fascination to watch her: every inflection, every gesture, every breath calculated to the utmost degree. Even more than customarily, her performance is an awesome *tour de force*.

Elliott Nugent plays Patrick Jamieson: an ingratiating actor, as he proved in "The Male Animal," but possibly a shade *too* ingratiating and collegiate to carry conviction as a Washington brain-truster. Audrey Christie gives convincing substance to the Jamieson's amatory secretary, and Robert Sinclair's staging and Robert Edmond Jones's sets are in the best Theatre Guild manner. *(At the St. James.)*

Mr. Sycamore

"MR. SYCAMORE," Ketti Frings's adaptation of a short fable by Robert Ayre, constitutes a new high in escapism. One fine spring morning, John Gwilt decides that twenty years of delivering mail to his small-souled neighbors are enough. He dumps the contents of his sack in the middle of the road, retires to his own back yard, digs a hole there, removes his shoes and socks and proceeds to plant himself. Naturally his wife and neighbors think him demented. But their tune changes when his toes begin to put out roots, bark covers his legs, leaves sprout from his fingers. By the last curtain, John is a full-grown sycamore tree: stately, placid, benevolent: blissfully detached from the worries and bickerings and hypocrisies of humankind.

Fortunately, it's the Theatre Guild that produces this fantasy, with its characteristic taste, imagination and expertness. To play the postman, the Guild recruited Stuart Erwin from Hollywood, and it's a happy choice. Mr. Erwin's John Gwilt is human, natural, modest and altogether lovable. And Lillian Gish's Mrs. Gwilt, who gradually moves from hurt indignation to happy pride, is another always right performance. John Philliber enriches several scenes with rustic fun. In fact the entire large cast is generally excellent, and Samuel Leve's settings suit and enhance the play's mood.

Possibly you'll find that mood too tenuous. I did and didn't; I found a good deal of its friendly comedy warm and beguiling; but I did feel that the central idea had worn a trifle thin before 11 o'clock. The writing of the play lacks somewhat in body and focus; I kept expecting more meaning to emerge—sharper social satire, perhaps, or some richer philosophical dimension than sheer escapism. (*At the Guild.*)

DAVID BURNHAM.

Two For The Show

IF THERE was ever a time when escapist comedy was welcome, this is the time. And if there ever was a movie that was completely escapist and completely comedy, it is the new Bing Crosby-Bob Hope opus called *"The Road to Morocco."*

Of course it was made months before Morocco became front page news. This zany film doesn't have a sane

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

moment in it, and its locale has no relation to reality. Frank Butler and Don Hartman are credited with this fantastic screenplay—but if these authors also thought up the wisecracks and quips, they must be credited for hitting a new high in nonsense. Paul Jones produced the film, and David Butler directed it to get the most fun out of its script and cast without any dull scenes through which you have to fight while waiting for the next laugh episode.

The cast is very good, but outside of the principals including Dorothy Lamour and Dona Drake you won't remember any of them. And Bob and Bing are at their best. From the beginning when the boys are shipwrecked in mid-ocean (Bing looks hungrily at Bob and wishes that Bob had eaten his oatmeal more regularly) to the ridiculous camel ride across the desert (in the sandy wastes where all hour glasses are emptied) to the Shangrila palace that looks like a frosted cake, the boys enjoy every minute of the fun. The film might well have been called "Nothing Sacred" for Bing and Bob not only rib each other mercilessly, but they also make fun of everything else—particularly this movie. This kind of burlesquing the very picture in which the actors appear can go awfully sour if it isn't done well. In "The Road to Morocco," it is done expertly.

The songs are also good, but they're all laughed away by the episode in which the Hope-Lamour-Crosby voices somehow manage to come out of the wrong throats. The ghost of Aunt Lucy (who looks amazingly like Bob Hope) tries to keep the boys in line but even she has to be guided by Mr. Jordan. She gives up, however, when the two pranksters go to town on the sheiks—especially when Bobby and Bingy give a whole company of Arabs the hotfoot. And that proves too much for a camel who's watching the boys as he says in a suspiciously Hepburn voice, "When I see how silly people behave, I'm glad I'm a camel." Our vagabonds have a riot of a time and the result is a fantasy in nonsense—or as Bing says to Bob, "It's a strange country, Buster."

"Springtime in the Rockies" is an unimportant bit of technicolor candy designed for complete relaxation—almost sleep. You may or may not like it—depending on your mood.

Its shallow and trifling little plot is so escapist that it almost fails its purpose. After we see Betty Grable and John Payne, supposedly two of Broadway's outstanding musical comedy stars, go through a series of lovers' quarrels and kiss-and-make-up affairs, we really don't care if boy does get girl. Boy does of course—but not until he chases Betty from New York to Lake Louise where she scurried to dance with Cesar Romero. The script wouldn't have to label this locale "the jewel of the Canadian Rockies" because in vivid technicolor it is just that. The film gains momentum once the ensemble get up to the beauties of the North because somehow in one of his drunker moments Payne managed to add Carmen Miranda and Edward Everett Horton to his staff. Horton, who hasn't been seen much lately on the screen, turns on his best surprised looks as Payne's valet who's been going to college for the past 20 years. And Carmen Miranda, as his secretary, is the film's bright spot. And her brightest moment is her Brazilian version of Chattanooga-Choo-Choo. Mack Gordon and Harry Warren have written some new songs for this film, but nothing up to that number. Harry James and his Music Makers see to it that the music is plenty hot, so much so that Charlotte Greenwood is inspired to throw her long legs into a couple of dance numbers. All this involves an awful lot of pretty technicolor views of Grable and Payne which may be worth sitting through just to see the Miranda entertainment. However, as I say, it all depends on your mood.

I wish everyone connected with *"The Navy Comes Through"* had tried harder. No doubt the whole good cast were handicapped by the cliché-ridden story. But the result is just too Roverboyish to appeal to adults. That old theme, about a young officer (George Murphy) who is wrongly accused, tried and fired, then rejoins the Navy and proves his heroism, is worn too thin. It's not helped any in this case by having the girl (Jane Wyatt) be the sister of the petty officer (Pat O'Brien) who accused our hero.

Of course Murphy is later stationed on O'Brien's ship. Somehow Wyatt, now a nurse, is on the same ship. Murphy, during a battle, saves Jane but deserts his post in so doing—and is again accused of cowardice. By this time you're getting pretty tired of Murphy's silent suffering. Of course he exonerates himself in some fantastic way and all is forgiven.

The cast, which includes Jackie Cooper, Max Baer, Carl Esmond, Desi Arnaz, do the best they can under the circumstances. But they're all too handsome and heroic to be believed, even in the exciting battle scenes, by anyone out of his teens. A. Edward Sutherland directed. The Navy comes through but the movie doesn't.

PHILIP T. HARTUNG.

BIGGEST SHOW VALUE IN TOWN
FOR THE ENTIRE FAMILY
Approved by The Catholic Theater Movement
SONJA HENIE AND ARTHUR M. WIRTZ PRESENT
"STARS ON ICE"
"The perfect skating show."—Mantle, News.
CENTER THEATRE Rockefeller Center—CO. 5-5474
A Musical Icetravaganza in America's Only Ice Theater
HOLIDAY MATINEES—NOVEMBER 26, 27, 28 AND 29
Eves., including Sunday, 8:40
Matinees: Saturday at 2:40, Sunday at 3
No Monday performance
50c • $1.00 • $1.50 Plus Tax
Saturday Nights only 50c to $2.50—Plus Tax

4th YEAR! "A PERFECT COMEDY." —ATKINSON, Times
LIFE WITH FATHER
with HOWARD LINDSAY, DOROTHY STICKNEY
EMPIRE, B'way & 40 St.—269 Seats at $1.10
Evgs. 8:40. Matinees WED. and SAT. at 2:40

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Books of the Week

Peter to Pius XII

Pageant of the Popes. John Farrow. Sheed. $3.50.

MOST of those who recall the almost universal mourning evoked by the death of Pope Pius XI would be surprised to know how much the prestige of the papacy increased in his lifetime. The future pope was already a clerical student in 1870 when the Vatican Decrees seemed to many to be the final folly of the Holy See in its defiance of the modern world. They aroused ridicule and irritation that were only partially offset by visions of the benefits the world was certain to derive from United Italy, the Third French Republic and the Hohenzollern Empire. The fact that those governments were soon quarreling with the Church did not diminish their popularity in England and America, where many intelligent people expected Pius IX to be the last pope.

Today the collapse of the papacy no longer supplies our major and minor prophets with material on which to exercise their talent for wishful thinking. Its enemies have despaired of its disappearance and are even moved to admire its capacity to resist the storms to which so many other institutions that seemed so strong have succumbed. Macaulay's New Zealander has received his cue much sooner than was expected, but the undiminished vigor he was to find is there. No prominent statesman west of the Rhine would speak as contemptuously of the Church today as Gladstone did when he accused Pius IX of having repudiated ancient history and modern thought and of using the Council to refurbish rusty tools. Even Mr. Mencken's "Bible Belt" has discovered, thanks to Father Coughlin, that the Pope, whom it used to anathematize, is a social reformer. Mr. Myron Taylor's flights to Rome manifest a respect for the Holy See that was inconceivable in 1878 when the death of Pius IX was almost ignored by the American press. Though the lights are very low in Europe they burn brightly in the Vatican. They are extinguished in Paris, not, as Viviani thought, in heaven. There is on all sides a growing recognition of that practical sagacity which Newman declared to be characteristic of the Church at all times.

The Papacy owes much of its greatly enhanced prestige to a succession of popes, beginning with Pius IX, that is unrivalled in its long history. Pius IX saw what was wrong with modern civilization when few suspected illness. Leo XIII confirmed the diagnosis of his predecessor and was more specific in the remedies he prescribed. Pius X worked hard to see that no critic could justly say "physician, heal thyself." His three successors have striven, against desperate odds, to mitigate and avert the penalties of neglected warnings and have cogently and authoritatively proposed plans for lasting restoration. Meanwhile more and more people have realized that the path so confidently entered on in 1789 was a disastrous course.

There is, therefore, a special timeliness in the publication of Mr. Farrow's new book, which deserves to rank with his "Damien the Leper." He has written, expressly, for the average reader to whom the many volumes which tell the story of the popes are not accessible or who lacks the time and training to use them. He has, as it were, given life to a biographical dictionary of the popes, and has given in readable and attractive English such a sketch of their careers as will meet the needs of the public he endeavors to reach. He has been conspicuously successful in avoiding two pitfalls that await the zealous and enthusiastic; he does not indulge in sensationalism or in that moralizing which is so unpleasant a form of apologetics. His treatment of the scandals in papal history shows no trace of yellow journalism or whitewash. He neither condemns nor condones, and deals objectively with such test cases as Alexander VI, Clement VII, Paul IV, Clement XIV. His answer to a squeamish world would be "and so what."

Inevitably a book of this kind, which is filled with statements of fact, will contain inaccuracies, which can readily be corrected in the future editions it deserves. There are some surprizing slips in the chapters on modern times. For instance, Cardinal O'Connell is called John instead of William; the Spanish Jesuits are said to have been exiled in 1931, though they were only dissolved then, which explains their inclusion in the general prescription of the clergy in 1936; and it is surprising to find a book published by the daughter of Wilfrid Ward calling Cardinal Wiseman John instead of Nicholas.

Mr. Farrow writes in the strain usual among Catholics about the folly and treachery that barred Benedict XV from the Versailles Conference. This reviewer believes the exclusion of the Pope was providential. What could he have done with an anti-clerical diehard like Clemenceau? The Pope's mild form of infallibility could only provoke the arrogant cocksureness of Wilson. Benedict had already given the world the program that could have made the Conference a success. Had he been represented at Versailles, he could neither have approved the decisions reached by the Conference nor withdrawn to write a minority report. We are prone to overestimate the value of diplomacy and to impose an impossible burden on the Pope by expecting him to solve all great international problems. Mr. Farrow's very readable book supplies a corrective for that false optimism.

FLORENCE D. COHALAN.

BIOGRAPHY

As the Twig Is Bent. Richard Welling. Putnam. $3.00.

THERE is good reason to believe that Mr. Richard Welling does himself less than justice, as is natural to so modest a man, in these scattered memoirs. Despite all his modesty can do to mislead us, one feels instinctively that here is no typical municipal reformer with the stuffiness of outlook too often a characteristic of the species in its earlier manifestations, but an individual with convictions of his own that sometimes diverge rather sharply from the accepted opinion of the moment in the social group from which he springs. What other man in that group (excepting John Jay Chapman) could have brought himself to vote the Socialist ticket in a national election? What other lawyer in the same group could have found an approving word for the intention behind Roosevelt's plan to reform the Supreme Court, if not for the plan itself? If Mr. Welling's pen is hardly the skilled instrument to make such distinctions plain to us, we need only turn to the facts of his career to make good the deficiency. Scarcely a province in the common experience of our life has been entirely alien to him, and if he has set none of them aglow with the light of his genius, there are few that he has not set out to cultivate, few that he has done nothing to improve. Perhaps the cause that has always lain nearest his heart has been the education of the young in the art of self-government, and the condition of the world

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

today, in the democracies only less than in the totalitarian states, affords ample vindication for that preference.

Mr. Welling dedicates his volume to Charles C. Burlingham, who has been designated by Mayor La Guardia "First Citizen of New York." No doubt Mr. Burlingham would willingly share the distinction with his friend, Richard Welling.

J. K. PAULDING.

CRITICISM

Japanese Prints of the Primitive Period. 50 Plates: 20 in Full Color, 30 in Halftone. Louis V. Ledoux. E. Weyhe. $20.00.

THIS COUNTRY has produced few connoisseurs. The bankers and industrialists who built up collections in the nineteenth century did so in order to celebrate their own magnitude as men of the world. They left no records which suggest that they possessed either unusual taste or devotion. Exceptional collectors like John Gellatly and Samuel P. Avery supported Ryder or Whistler, and thus helped in the best of all ways to fortify their country's culture. But the connoisseur—the man who is both a scholar and a collector, and whose taste contributes something to the specialty which engages him—has seldom appeared in America. This is a good token of our backwardness.

Fortunately in Louis V. Ledoux, compiler of this excellent book of Japanese prints, we have a connoisseur who can compare with the very best of his kind. Long a collector, Mr. Ledoux has toured in the Orient, learned its languages, and given himself to the infinite labors which are called for in the attaining of expertness. It may be said that he knows everything about Japanese prints. Already he is responsible for the authoritative volume on Sharaku, published in conjunction with an exhibition at the Museum of Modern Art a few years ago. And now he presents 50 prints from the so-called primitives who utilized the wood-block method. In due time this is to be followed with other volumes until the Ledoux Collection of 250 items has been encompassed in a total of five volumes.

The present one begins with Moronobu, who fashioned some of the first effective works of this kind. They have an almost topographical effect. Then a school of actor-depictions is founded. Later the celebrators of women appear. Prints from this group, according to Ledoux, were found in a book-stall along the Seine. More boldness and independence come out in the drawing. Gradually the colors increase in complexity. One dancer might have been depicted by an abstractionist from the Moderns. At length by the eighteenth century—the first of these artists had appeared in 1657—subtlety, sweetness and grace become the more notable characteristics of the print-makers. At the last, even the grotesque has entered. Then the period is ripe for the introduction of polychrome printing.

Every print has a large page to itself. Twenty of the plates are in full color, and a number of these are ravishing—particularly the lady bearing toy bows and arrows, the courtesan whose fan depicts a squat retainer, the young man who handles an umbrella, and the actor with the impeccable bird-cages. Each of these is almost an original in itself. As for the text, it is limited to notations of the essentials on each picture, a pointed foreword, a glossary, and a comprehensive bibliography on the subject.

One feels upon completing this book that the primitive period in Japanese prints will not need soon to be covered again. This is the first testimonial to Mr. Ledoux. One awaits his other volumes with the conviction that each of

"The pungent lively style never becomes boring..."

"THIS BOOK IS AN EXCELLENT EXAMPLE of popular presentation of the writings of such scholars as Pastor, Mourret, Mann, Grisar and others . . . well-written, accurate, interesting," says Andrew L. Bouwhuis, S.J., in his column, CANISIUS READER in the Buffalo "Union and Echo." We quote below at some length from his review:

"A CAREFUL APPRAISAL of nearly every Pope's life, of his background, of the difficulties he faced, of his policy and of his achievements, picture that Pontiff clearly and justly. The collection of these pictures is quite properly called a PAGEANT.

"MR. FARROW'S KNACK of noting and stressing arresting details brightens the record of every century: Marinus, first bishop to be elected Pope; Clement XII putting Stations of the Cross in all the Churches; Telesphorus, first celebrant of midnight Mass for Christmas; Valerian, first to fear the wealth of the Church; John II, first Pope to change his name; Pope Hilary (A.D. 461), builder of libraries; Gregory II, Stephen X, Nicholas V, Paul III and Pius XI were librarians or developed libraries, and John XXI was killed by falling scaffolding in a library. . . .

"OCCASIONALLY A PUNGENT PARAGRAPH on the training of youth, or a page or two on some hoax of history ("Popess Joan") shows the author's control over his matter and his ability to analyze and summarize. He shows considerable ingenuity in devising different ways of conveying the idea of next, succeeded, follows, etc., to show succession of Pontiffs . . . how, from the need for independent Papal elections, came the established method of electing a Pope. This is well described. . . .

"APT QUOTATIONS FROM MONUMENTS of antiquity, from scholarly and from popular writers, from records, (as the court testimony of Catherine of Aragon) carry conviction. . . . Where a doctrine or an historical event needs to be elaborated, the very skillful summary gives background. . . . In the matter of the baptism of Constantine, of Luther and indulgences, Galileo, usury, monasticism, the temporal power of the Popes, the Inquisition, a great amount of accurate up-to-date knowledge is presented in terse, clear, emphatic language. . . . The pungent lively style never becomes boring. . . .

"WE ARE GLAD TO RECOMMEND this book. . . . For the past fifty years, the Pope has been looked upon as the most important person in the world. . . . The resistance of Pope Pius XI to Senor Mussolini's brand of totalitarianism made even the most bigoted opponent of the Pope realize that here was some great power, wise, determined, honorable and unselfish."

PAGEANT OF THE POPES, by John Farrow. Portraits by Charlot, Jacket by Angelo. Chronology, Index, 420 pages. Price $3.50.

Sheed & Ward · 63-5 Av. N. Y. C.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THERE IS STILL ROOM

. . . under the altar of the Chapel at 10 West 17th Street, New York, N. Y., for many more names of your dear ones, living and dead. We specially desire to have put there the names of our gallant men and courageous women who are serving with the armed forces of our beloved country. The offering of $10.00 towards the blessed charity of the Medical Missions brings with it the right of putting in another name under the altar, and this offering is made in the name of the one whose name is thus inscribed. Masses, prayers and good works are constantly and in great numbers offered up for the work, workers and benefactors of the Catholic Medical Mission Board.

You have also still the opportunity to send an offering for another medical mission kit, $30.00, or to purchase instruments, medical supplies and equipment for the needy missions. Send what you can at this time. Offer it for peace and victory. To purchase war bonds, and send them to us for our Maintenance Fund, is also a welcome aid. Address the Catholic Medical Mission Board, 10 West 17th Street, New York, N. Y.

THE CATHOLIC WORKER

(Member of Catholic Press Association)

A monthly paper dedicated to the cause of labor, the poor, the oppressed.

Written in the language of the man on the street, THE CATHOLIC WORKER is openly and unashamedly the champion of the have-nots.

Articles on strikes, civil liberties, war, national policy, labor unions, the land, the Works of Mercy.

House of Hospitality in New York and 40 affiliated groups and houses in various American cities.

Subscription, 25c per year. Foreign, 30c per year. Bundle orders, 10 or more copies, 1c per copy plus postage.

THE CATHOLIC WORKER, 115 Mott St., N. Y. C.

Please send me THE CATHOLIC WORKER for ..... years. I am enclosing $..... My subscription starts with the ..... issue.

Name .....

Address .....

Post Office ..... State .....

them will be similarly complete, and that the project will be a permanent enrichment both to our taste and to our knowledge of the Japanese print. JEROME MELLQUIST.

HISTORY

Grant of Appomattox. William E. Brooks. Bobbs. $3.00.
Lee's Lieutenants. Douglas S. Freeman. Scribner. $5.00.

THERE is nothing unusual in the Grant biography. Several of equal merit have already been written. This reviewer often wonders why so many substantially similar books are written about the same man or the same event. Dr. Brooks likes Grant. He is of the opinion that although there was nothing of sheer genius about Grant, nevertheless there was a solidity of character and a tenacity of purpose which helped to save the nation from disintegration in the 1860's. The story deals with Grant from infancy to the day that he received the surrender of Lee at Appomattox. It is substantially in agreement with sound research. Grant's proper military strategy, his dislike of war as a means of settling a dispute and his unwillingness to take advantage of a defeated opponent are now admitted save by a few so-called "debunkers." War being what it is, Grant was a great general. That is the contention of the author, and to prove it he has drawn heavily on source material of all types. His accounts of the campaigns are clear and sufficiently detailed. He does not deal with the issues of the war, nor with the nation as such. He keeps close to Grant, and reveals Grant to us by what Grant said, by what Grant did, and by the reports, favorable and unfavorable, made concerning Grant by contemporaries. Those who have read little concerning Grant can profitably read this book.

Anyone who wishes to read an exhaustive account of the influences operative in the military forces of the Confederacy in the Virginia area, from April, 1861, to July, 1862, can do no better than consult the book by Dr. Freeman. The first of a series of three volumes, it attempts to study the strength and weakness of over thirty officers associated in some manner with General Lee. Since the latter has already been treated in the author's "R. E. Lee," the stress in these volumes is on Lee's helpers. The campaigns are treated in detail. An analysis is made of every important military development, with explanations relative to the action taken. The author has not descended to so-called "psychological" history, but he has been willing to admit every physical and spiritual influence which seemed to affect the officials treated. Some of the officers included lose the stature usually accorded them. The auther is willing to admit the presence of much friction in the Confederate command. It would appear that actually there was more jealousy among the Confederate leaders than was found in the Union command. Considerable winnowing was to be required in the South, as well as in the North, before able leaders were definitely recognized.

This book is richly footnoted. Every statement of importance is bolstered by ample documentation. Manuscript sources previously unused have been utilized. All printed sources of value have been consulted. Maps are included, as well as a series of appendices. The index gives further evidence of exhaustive scholarship. Nearly two columns are given to General Joseph E. Johnston; over two columns are given to General Thomas (Stonewall) Jackson, who receives a fair amount of adverse criticism in the text. All in all, this is history writing at its best, since it is factual, complete, objective, readable. It deserves and will be accorded a large circle of serious readers. PAUL KINIERY.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The Inner Forum

The Cause of Junipero Serra

THE archbishops and bishops of California designated November 22 this year as Serra Day, a statewide observance of a day of prayer for the canonization of the heroic friar who founded many of the California missions. In every parish church throughout the state a letter from the bishop or archbishop was to be read and an appropriate sermon or lengthy reference to Father Serra to be made. Several hundred thousand leaflets, which contain his picture, a summary of his life and a prayer for his canonization, were prepared for distribution on November 22.

Junípero Serra was born on the island of Majorca in 1713 and entered the Franciscan Order at the age of 17. He was a brilliant scholar, became a lector of philosophy and before his ordination was finally appointed to the Duns Scotus chair of philosophy at the Lullian University at Palma. In 1749 he joined the staff of the missionary college of San Fernando, Mexico. Later he served for nine years in the Sierra Gorda Indian Missions, where he learned the Pame Indian language and translated the catechism into their tongue. In 1767 he went to Lower California as superior of a band of fifteen Franciscan missionaries and two years later reached Upper California. Among the missions he founded were San Diego, San Gabriel, San Juan Capistrano and San Francisco; there were 21 in all.

From 1770 until his death at Monterey in 1784 Padre Serra confirmed 5,309 persons, mostly Indians. He had an ulcerated leg which made walking extremely painful, yet he walked the Camino Real from San Diego to Monterey, five times. In fact, his biographer, Padre Francisco Palou, O.F.M., estimates that he walked more than 6,500 miles on his missionary journeys.

Plans for instituting Padre Serra's cause were begun in 1934, with Very Rev. Augustine Hobrecht, O.F.M., vice provincial of the western Franciscan province, as vice postulator. He was succeeded in 1941 by Father Eric O'Brien, O.F.M., of Saint Anthony's Seminary, Santa Barbara. Bishop Scher of Monterey-Fresno has appointed Professor Herbert Bolton of the University of California as a member of the historical commission that is to collect Padre Serra's writings and attest to their genuineness.

CONTRIBUTORS

Harry Paxton HOWARD is an American journalist and educator who has recently returned from 24 years' residence in the Far East—including nineteen years in China. He is the author of a book on the socialist and labor movement in Japan and is at present contributing to a number of American periodicals.

Wendell BERGE is an Assistant US Attorney General. The views expressed in his article are his own, not necessarily those of the Department of Justice.

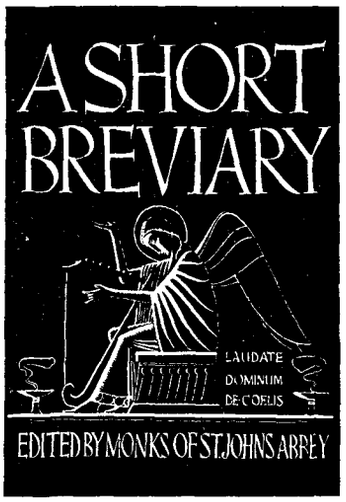
Rev. Florence D. CCHALAN is a member of the faculty of Cathedral College, New York.

J. K. PAULDING has long been interested in the literature and political life of this country; he is a resident of New York.

Jerome MELLQUIST is an art critic. He is the author of "The Emergence of American Art," published last spring.

Paul KINIERY is assistant dean of the Graduate School of Loyola University, Chicago, Ill.

FOR RELIGIOUS AND THE LAITY



1. All in English.
2. New translation of psalms.
3. Closely follows liturgical year.
4. Simple to use: no directory needed.
5. First edition sold out in nine months, without advertising except by enthusiastic users.
6. Based on Roman Breviary, but much shortened. Each day's Office takes as long as Little Office of B.V.M. Rubrics for group recitation.
7. Printed in black and red. Large legible type. 30 illustrations. Attractive and durable binding. 774 pages (5 by 7 inches). Price, $2.85.

THE LITURGICAL PRESS
St. John's Abbey Collegeville, Minn.

SETON HILL COLLEGE
Greensburg, Pennsylvania

Degrees: B.A., B. Music, B.S. in Home Economics

Pre-Professional Training for Medicine, Law, and Social Service, Teacher Education

Fourteen Major Departments Honors Courses

Accredited by The Association of American Universities

Holds national membership in The American Association of University Women

Women from 11 foreign countries and 37 American States.

PIUS X SCHOOL OF LITURGICAL MUSIC
Manhattanville College of the Sacred Heart
133rd Street and Convent Avenue, New York, N. Y.

Courses offered: Gregorian Chant—Gregorian Accompaniment—Choir Conducting—Liturgical Singing—Polyphony—Choral Class School Music — Theory — Harmony — Counterpoint — and other branches of music. Lessons in Organ—Piano—Violin—Voice.

Telephone: Edgecombe 4-1500

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Educational

NEW JERSEY

CALDWELL COLLEGE

For Women. Conducted by the Sisters of St. Dominic. Caldwell, New Jersey. Offering A.B. and B.S. Degrees. Teacher and Secretarial Training.

COLLEGE OF ST. ELIZABETH

A Catholic College for Women, on the approved list of the Association of American Universities. Campus of 400 acres. Modern residence halls. Regular arts courses, pre-medical, secretarial, teacher-training, music, home economics, science. Degrees—B.A., B.S. in Commerce, B.S. in Home Economics. For catalogue, address the Dean. Convent Station, New Jersey.

CHRISTMAS CARDS
14 for $1

Orders for sample sets of Commonweal Christmas cards are now reaching the office in good numbers. Time for Christmas card gift shopping grows short.

Commonweal Christmas Cards
386 Fourth Avenue
New York, N. Y.

For the enclosed $1 please send me a sample set of Commonweal Christmas cards.

Name _____

Address _____

_____1127

NEW YORK

COLLEGE OF MT. ST. VINCENT

Mount St. Vincent - on - Hudson, New York, N. Y. Conducted by the Sisters of Charity. Regional and State Accreditment. A.B. and B.S. Degrees. Teacher and Secretarial Training. Ninety-six acres bordering Hudson River. Twelve miles from Grand Central, New York City. For particulars address Registrar.

GOOD COUNSEL COLLEGE

White Plains, Westchester County, New York. Conducted by the Sisters of the Divine Compassion. Fully Accredited. Standard courses in Arts and Science, pre-medical. Journalism, teacher-training, secretarial studies, library science, fine arts. Unusually beautiful location. Extensive campus. Forty minutes from New York City.

MARYMOUNT COLLEGE

Tarrytown-on-Hudson, New York. Conducted by the Religious of the Sacred Heart of Mary. Accredited. Liberal Arts. Confers B.A., B.S. degrees. National Defense Program. Pre-Medical, Secretarial, Home Making and Nutrition, Art, Music, Pedagogy, Journalism, Dramatics. Directed field trips in all depts. Athletics. Special two-year course. Extensions: 1027 Fifth Ave., New York City. Paris and Rome. Address Secretary.
Marymount Preparatory Schools: Wilson Park, Tarrytown, New York. Fifth Ave. & 84th St., New York City. Address Rev. Mother.

COLLEGE OF SAINT ROSE

Albany, New York. Conducted by the Sisters of Saint Joseph. Fully accredited to confer degrees of Bachelor of Arts, Bachelor of Science with Science, Commerce, Music, or Nursing as a major subject, and Bachelor of Music. Teacher Training course offered in all degrees for those who desire to enter the teaching profession. Many advantages incident to residence in a capital city. Day students and boarders. For particulars address the Registrar.

PENNSYLVANIA

ROSEMONT COLLEGE

Rosemont, Pa. Catholic College for the Higher Education of Women conducted by the Religious of the Society of the Holy Child Jesus. Incorporated under the laws of the State of Pennsylvania with power to confer Degrees in Arts and Science. For resident and non-resident students. Situated eleven miles from Philadelphia on the Main Line of the Pennsylvania Railroad. Fully accredited. Telephone Bryn Mawr 4514. Address Registrar.

COLLEGE OF CHESTNUT HILL

Chestnut Hill, Pa. Conducted by the Sisters of St. Joseph. Accredited. Students prepared for graduate, medical and law schools, for high school teaching and secretarial service. Exceptional opportunities for students in Music and Speech. Gymnasium, swimming-pool and extensive fields for outside sports. Prespective students should make early application.

COLLEGE MISERICORDIA

Dallas, Pennsylvania. Conducted by the Sisters of Mercy of the Union. Regional and national accreditation. Early registration is desirable. Address: Registrar.

MARYLAND

COLLEGE OF NOTRE DAME OF MARYLAND

North Charles St., Baltimore, Maryland. An Accredited Catholic Institution for the Higher Education of Women. Conducted by the School Sisters of Notre Dame. Exceptional Advantages. For Information Address the Registrar.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED